Chapter 3

Land tenure and social structure

a. The tribe and clan as territorial or political units

128 [614] [619] This section outlines the range of wider common territorial interests and concerted political action among traditional groupings. Clans are the largest units in which membership is determined by patrilineal filiation as distinct from the local allegiance underlying membership of the tribe, and of the 'district', village, etc., into which the tribe may be divided.

619 The tribe is the largest unit which has a common territory (Williams 1930:156-7). This is usually isolated from neighbouring tribal territories by a belt of uninhabited country and its occupants would speak of it as 'one ground', pusu tahavo. The territories of groups of various orders of inclusiveness within the tribe are also described in this way (see Williams 0.364; 1930:157).

[829] Members of a group of any of these levels might consider themselves as toho, 'countrymen' (see Williams 1930:166; 0.100, 364). In another context a group would consider others in the same tribe as kitoho (outsiders, aliens). All members of the tribe shared common enmities so that at times they would regard themselves as toho whereas neighbouring tribes were always considered kitoho.[1]

[578] There were customary restrictions upon feuding within the tribe. As Williams (1930:309 ff.) points out, this political unit is the largest group with its own intragroup morality, in this case [266] [721] sharply distinguished from the standard forms of hostility between tribes. Aggression against members of another tribe took the form of organised, often cannibalistic raids (isoro).

---

[1] Williams (1930:160) mentions exceptions where 'friendship or affinity between certain tribes allowed the use of the former word' (toho), but 'tribes...normally stood in the mutual relation of Kitohu' (sic) (ibid: 170; see also 0.100, 364).

721 see p.6) and by the Sangara would have been common knowledge but the neighbouring tribes on the plains were well endowed with land. Land shortage and territorial ambitions were seldom likely to have been sufficient to induce warriors to conquer new lands from traditional enemies.[1]

628 721 Williams (1930:151) says that the Hunjovarehu (including the people of Divinikovari) and the 'Wasida' people to their south are 2 subdivisions of 1 tribe but in other contexts (1930:166) he mentions that these 2 groups carried out organized raids on each other's territory; these were frequent and were characteristic only of intertribal feuds. He refers also to the 'Wasida' as traditional enemies of the Divinikovari 'tribe' (0.9). Monckton too (Territory of Papua 1904-5:36) had reported that the 'Wasida' used frequently to raid ' the low-lying villages of the Kumusi' including the Nimanakwari (or Divinikovari) 'tribe'; indeed, the ancestors of some of the men at Sivepe were killed while fighting the Divinikovari, Togahau and Asigi people to the north. 'The people known as Hunjovarehu' and 'the people of the Periho group', according to Plant, should not be regarded as members of the same tribe (1951: Appendix 4). Informants said that their ancestors were not involved in the isoro which the Wasida villagers fought with the Orokaiva of Sairope - and at times with those at Baropi (Wairope) - and with the people of the Managalas Mountains to the south (see Reay 1953:118; Williams W.23).

Our reason for arguing that all the mountain Orokaiva - the Sangara as well as the Periho (i.e., Wasida) - constituted 1 tribe, is that the basic criterion for identifying a tribe as a distinct unit is its members' joint political activity, as Williams says (1925:406; 1930:156) - the 'almost perpetual state of war with its neighbours'.

619 721 634 In feuds with neighbouring Orokaiva of tribes to the north, members of the Awala District had regular alliances with people as distant as Koropata to the west and the Sangara to the east. However, on no occasion known to us did the mountain Orokaiva as a whole combine in defence or attack en masse. It is even unlikely that the Periho 'welded themselves into a solid group', which Plant (1951:3) claims 'was based on political necessity', defended a recognized common boundary and combined to conduct isoro as a unit.[2] At the time of pacification they alone must

[1] This is true of almost all New Guinea societies, whatever the extent of their political organization: exceptions include Chimbu and the Mae Enga (see Brown and Brookfield 1959:42).

[2] Plant's inclusion of the Wairopi and Sairopi districts in the tribe (see p.6) is hard to reconcile with statements by Williams (W.23) and by Reay (1953:118).

619 721 634 have numbered several thousand at least (nor did they have a 'distinct dialect and a uniformity of custom' that might indicate that they by themselves constituted a tribe).

Every Orokaiva person is recruited by birth to the clan of his father. All members of this descent unit claim but cannot trace[1] 851 common patrilineal descent from a usually eponymous ancestor; they 611 do not always share the same plant emblem (erahu)[2] commonly held by patrilineal groups. A large number of clans are included among 614 the mountain Orokaiva; clan membership does not often overlap with tribal membership (though see Williams 1928:406; 1930:154). It is very rare for the clan to act as a political unit, whatever its functions in the past. Williams (1930:102-8) has in mind a different kind of unit (a small, usually localised group 'united by feelings of actual kinship', scarcely more distant than nuclear family relationships) when he says the clan was 'co-operative... in respect to ceremonies and feasts, and more importantly of fighting'.

[G21] There are several clans represented in the great majority of the present villages and fragments of the same clans - what we call clan branches[3] - will be found scattered among similar composite villages, often a considerable distance away.

Clans are not linked to form a wider descent group. Some members of 2 or more distinct named clans, whose ancestors were all at one time known by the one clan name, sometimes profess closer ties to one another for this reason. Jegase clan, for instance, is said to have formerly included groups which have become independent clans.

---

1 This disagrees with Williams' description (1930:108) which shows no clear distinction between the clan and lineage (see Royal Anthropological Institute 1960:88-90).

2 Data from Awala and Wasida villages (see Williams O.83; and Appendix D) differs from the information from Inonda (Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:16).

3 Note that Williams (1925:410 and 420) uses either the term 'local clan branch' or 'subclan' to denote 'an incipient clan' which has moved away from the parent group but retains either the original clan name while acquiring a new plant emblem or the original plant emblem while assuming a new clan name. Elsewhere (1928:125) he describes how some clans occupy several villages or parts of villages. Some 'branches' or 'sections' may have adopted a distinctive name or taken possession of the subdivision of former clan land they occupy, while others may not yet have taken either step (ibid.).

614 safety. Plant for instance (1951:3) notes that the Isivita
701 villages, strategically situated on a ridge, would occasionally give refuge to fellow tribesmen though not every district would usually have recourse to join the Isivita.

619 Williams ascribes the formation of 'somewhat loose' and
614 temporary 'confederacies of clans', which conducted raids upon
[701] the tribe's kitoho, to a local spirit. But it is not clear whether by this he means the identification of members of a tribe with one territory or the unity of the 'locality group' which usually takes in a number of 'clan-village units' (see p.34) and which he describes as a more restricted 'sympathy-group' than the tribe (1930:107, 157, 163, 309-12). When he states (1925:407) that 'over and above clan patriarchs there are recognised leaders of small clan confederacies and even - in war-time - of tribes', he seems to equate the tribe with the district among the mountain Orokaiva (in particular Wasida and Isivita; see W.23, 124).[1]

[634] However, neither the district nor any other local grouping among the mountain Orokaiva was an independent political unit. The territory of this tribe was not so compact as to call for (or even to enable) all its constituent local groups to give continuous mutual support in protecting the integrity of the area they occupied. Nevertheless members of discrete local groups continually formed ad hoc alliances across district boundaries. It is clear that the regular chains of alliances encompassed a wider area than usually described as the tribe (whether Jegasi-Sarahu, Wasida or Periho).

721 The usual stratagem of the isoro was the surprise attack on 1 or 2 selected villages. In these circumstances the victims were able to summon only immediate neighbours to help ward off the attackers and proximity was at least one of the common principles by which specific villages combined in retaliatory raids.

62 An indication that within this tribe the named local groups of
361 villages were territorially distinct units is Belshaw's statement that the population was divided into 'hamlet groups' like Awala 2,

---

[721] [1] There is some doubt whether the evidence in these cases shows that there was even a military leadership in the district (and war is said to have been almost perpetual). The title of the former leader of Isivita (who had not been replaced) is given as embo javoari and the literal meaning is given (1930:104) as 'the man who gives the name' (cf. embo jawo vahai, Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:17), i.e., the deceased eponymous ancestor of one clan. The last renowned war-leader among the Wasida may have been the embo peni (javo), lit. man-big (-name), of a group no larger than a village or clan (see 1925:417; W.23).

[7] [12] is appropriate to argue for the relevance of the hypothesis of Brown and Brookfield (Brookfield and Brown 1963:176-7;: Brown and Brookfield 1959:74-5) concerning the allocation of the land of Chimbu descent groups and the incorporation of non-agnates. They note that among the patrilineal Mae Enga the proportion of non-agnates allowed to reside on and use land in clan territory has been shown to decrease with an increase in population (Meggitt 1958:264) whereas this correlation does not hold for the territory occupied by the Chimbu clan.

In explanation they cite the facts that in Chimbu the major political-territorial unit, the tribe, has a larger membership than the Enga unit and contains not one but several exogamous clans. Political and ceremonial functions are concentrated in the exogamous Enga clan, which has sharply defined territorial boundaries. Only in Chimbu can land needs be easily accommodated in the political unit by means of land transfers between individual kin and affines in neighbouring clans, and it is significant that individual grants are more common means of redistributing land than among the Enga.

We will focus discussion of our evidence by proposing as a reasonable correlate of the largest Chimbu territorial and political unit the Orokaiva district, on the grounds that it was a territorially distinct unit within the tribe.[1]

The first premises assumed are that the scale of difference between Chimbus or Enga and the mountain Orokaiva in respect of pressure on productive land occupied by the heavy local concentrations of populations (e.g., in Orokaiva districts) is not of significance here; and that the characteristic method[2] of ensuring equitable distribution in both the Chimbu and Orokaiva landholding systems is by frequent transfers effected through interpersonal ties.

Moreover, several differences between the 2 societies should be noted:

(1) the district in our comparison may have included an estimated 1,000 persons as against 4,000 in some Chimbu tribes;

[6] [19] (2) unlike Chimbu there were no large-scale peace-time activities or ceremonial in which either the Orokaiva tribe or district emerged as a solidary unit (Brown and Brookfield 1959:5, 45 ff.);

---

[1] We could have chosen the tribe, the inclusive effective political unit, without necessarily invalidating our comparison.

[2] Though not the only important method.

171 (3) the district had a compact territory (unlike the tribe)
619 but its members were not all bound in mutual support in
121 attack and defence, as were tribesmen in Chimbu where the motives of war and alliance and the territorial results of defeat were different;

614 (4) the Orokaiva clans which were scattered, often through
171 several districts, did not have a single territorial
121 focus and were radically different from a Chimbu clan; the latter is much more localized in a relatively continuous territory, may include 800 persons, preserves an internal solidarity and an opposition to others, and is probably the most stable social unit with its distinctive territorial and exogamic features. Clearly even a branch of an Orokaiva clan, which is the only group corresponding in significant respects, was only a fraction of the size, followed quite different settlement practices and, it seems, has long been non-exogamous (see Brown and Brookfield 1959:51, 55, 74; Brookfield and Brown 1963:11, 94, 98).

121 In the present study an adequate discussion of the hypothesis
171 requires a demonstration that the same variables isolated in the analysis of the Highlands societies can be observed among the mountain Orokaiva. It is possible to state in terms relevant to the Orokaiva context the central issues involved in the accommodation or incorporation of non-agnates in patrilineal territorial groups and the function of the complex of interpersonal ties linking groups in the local community and in the political unit. Much of our earlier discussion has dealt with residence and local organization and we will not elaborate on the obvious points of contrast in patterns of settlement or territorial organization between these Orokaiva and the Chimbu (or Enga, etc.).

171 Over and above these differences there is in the principles of
621 organization of the local communities of the 2 peoples an essen-
121 tial similarity which enables us to argue that in a sense the largest political and territorial units in neither society often include 'descent groups as distinct territorial units. Local units are often composed of parts of several descent groups, and descent groups are scattered in several localities' (Brookfield and Brown 1963:94; also Brown 1962:68). A further principle directly applicable in analysing the Orokaiva District is expressed in the assertion of a

> high correlation between proximity of clans and frequency of intermarriage [which] brings about a high proportion of ties of kinship and affinity between neighbouring clans.... Territorial distinctiveness

Introduction

121 The New Guinea Research Unit of the School of Pacific Studies of the Australian National University invited the author to evaluate the cognitive ability of groups of subjects who were being studied as part of a larger project. These were the Orokaiva people of the Northern District of Papua. Other related studies in the area had been or were being carried out at Inonda (Crocombe and Hogbin 1963), Gona (Dakeyne 1965), Sivepe and Borugasusu (Rimoldi 1966a, b), Ongoho (Crocombe 1964), the ex-servicemen's settlement scheme (Cheetham 1963) and in expatriate plantations (Howlett 1965).

131 The Orokaiva live on the Popondetta plain and in the Mt Lamington 197 foothills, and share mutually understandable languages. They have been described by Crocombe (1963) as follows:

105 The Orokaiva people number roughly 26,000 and are divided
[161] into about twelve tribes. The tribes are very loose units
[619] and recognise no single leader and before European contact,
[423] warfare within the tribe was not uncommon. ...there are no
[614] land rights at a tribal level. Each tribe is divided into a number of named clans. A clan is seldom localised, and usually it is divided into a number of sub-clans which are dispersed over various parts of the tribal territory. Each sub-clan holds rights over a specific area or areas of land.

177 There has been European contact of some form over a long period.
795 The people are perhaps best known by the work of Williams (1928 and 1930) in which he describes the earlier cult movements and the attempts to master and control new contact situations. Two of these were the cult of the Baigona men and the Taro cult. The former was concerned with healing and sorcery through a type of priest who was in communication with the spirits of the dead and now resident in various reptiles, particularly the snake. The latter was evidenced in sorcery through a priest who was possessed with the spirit of the Taro. Violent dancing or ecstatic movements often accompanied by a trance were not unlike the dance of St Vitus or St John which swept Europe in the fourteenth century (Sargant 1957).

648 The initial Japanese occupation of Papua took place in the
177 Northern District as the Japanese marched towards Port Moresby via

FOREWORD

101 In the central part of the Northern District of Papua there is a concentration of approximately 26,000 people who are [619] known collectively as the Orokaiva. The term Orokaiva came into use some years after European contact, and before that time the Orokaiva did not recognize themselves as a single group, nor did they all interact for any common purpose. Although they do not claim common ancestry, the various sub-groups possess a relatively homogeneous cultural heritage. The Orokaiva speak several dialects which are mutually intelligible and belong to a common language.(1)

241 During the last ten years there has been considerable development of commercial agriculture within the area. Many 241 people have planted cash crops on land held under customary 423 tenure; some villages have planted communal blocks on land set 650 aside by the rightholding clans; the Higaturu Local Government Council (which serves most of the southern part of the Orokaiva culture area) has instituted a scheme for the allocation of cash crop lands to individuals, and for the registration of title to land with the Council; some Orokaiva have taken up agricultural leases of small, family holdings on government land, and they are provided with capital, extension services and registered land titles; others again have entered the plantation economy (none as entrepreneurs as yet, but many as workers on European plantations in the area); and at Beporo (on the coast) the people have embarked on a new experiment involving the cutting of clan land into rectangular blocks, allocation by ballot, and the planting of cash crops by families.

121 The aim of the Unit's research is to determine which of these systems has been or promises to be most productive (in the economic sense) per man, per unit of capital and per acre of land; which of them is best suited to the introduction of

(1) The term Orokaiva has no precise connotation but is here used in its widest sense to include such culturally related groups as the Notu, Binandere, Aiga and Sangara. The word is often used in a more restricted sense to refer to those people (predominantly speakers of the Kombu-Sangara dialects) who are served by the Higaturu Local Government Council.

CHAPTER 2 - LAND TENURE

619 The concept of the tribe as a group of related clans exists among some of the Orokaiva people, but among the Inonda villagers at least it seems to be only vaguely defined and to have little if any relevance to land matters. The Andiriha and Jego'undi sub-clans are referred to in some reports as belonging to the Ihane'embo tribal group and although Inonda informants recognize some affinity with the other clans in this group, they say that the name Ihane'embo came into use only after European contact.

423 Land rights were found to be distributed at the following levels of social segmentation:

The rights of social units

423 644 The sub-clan: All land investigated in and around Inonda was found to be associated with one or more sub-clans.(1) It is a common misconception on the part of outside observers that any particular piece of land can be associated with only one such group. This is certainly not the case in the Inonda area and from superficial enquiries it appears that the Inonda case is not unique.

Where more than one sub-clan claims rights in an area the rights of each are determined by two factors - the circumstance under which the original division of rights took place; and the temporal, demographic and social changes that have occurred since the original division of rights.

This may be illustrated by the Inonda situation where

(1) Several atypical instances have been noted wherein rights are held by the clan as a whole rather than by a particular sub-clan. This may be exemplified by the case of the Anumba lands which are described on page 23.

'communal ownership', which is sometimes applied to indigenous land tenure, is misleading and must be qualified. New Guinea land tenure may best be understood as a pattern of rights of usage. For example, a man who is the first to venture into a patch of rain forest and mark distinctive trees thereby acquires the right to hunt in that forest area; if he clears the forest he acquires the right to cultivate that land. These rights are inherited by his descendents. Thus individual adults control the rights to hunt, forage or cultivate on all land, and, incidentally, to fish in the streams which traverse their land. But each individual is also a member of a closely cohesive parish[1] group, to which he owes absolute loyalty. The parish group, through its sub-groups, clans, lineages, and individuals, controls a certain area of land. It was inconceivable in the traditional days of inter-parish warfare, that any land should be given or sold to the neighbouring enemies. Under traditional custom, no individual could sell freehold title to land; at most he could permit the temporary use of land by a stranger on the full understanding that he as a lender retained the permanent rights.

New Guineans are just as conscious of their individual rights to the use of land as we are, and many disputes occur because of real or imagined infringements of a person's rights. Land boundaries in New Guinea are rarely marked by fences. More commonly they are indicated by distinctive trees, rocks, or very often by bright-leaved shrubs such as croton or cordyline. Land holders have what is, to us, an almost uncanny knowledge of the location of their boundaries. A villager can lead you unerringly through thick secondary growth to his boundary mark and can point out, for instance, the almost imperceptible rise in the level of the land marking the line of a pig-fence, now completely rotted away, which bounded his swidden several years earlier.

[1] The term 'parish' may appear unusual in this context. It is used in the sense in which it has been adapted by Dr. H. I. Hogbin (1953) that is, the largest group of people forming a political unit. Hogbin denies the existence of tribes in New Guinea (with the possible exception of some of the large highland groups). He applies the term parish to numerically-small political groups.

602 Kinship groups are of major importance in the functioning of village society in New
[619] Guinea. Every individual is a member not
[614] only of a parish but also of groups of closer
[613] kin, a clan, and maybe a lineage. Lacking any system of payment in cash for services rendered, the villager obtains the assistance of his
602 relatives for heavy work such as the felling of
464 big trees to make a swidden, dragging a canoe
476 log to the beach, or making a long seine fishing net. Obligations thus incurred are met either by reciprocating when asked or by making a gift. The kinship group provides
602 social stability and in practice the pattern of
311 land use is frequently decided by the senior
241 members of the group. The planting of food crops by any member, even on land to which he does not control cultivation rights, causes no concern because rights to temporary usage may be easily granted, but the planting of tree crops, which may remain in the ground from thirty to eighty years, is a different matter. Planting tree crops is tantamount to alienating the land for at least a generation and very often some members, at least, of the kinship group object to such long-term use. Even if they do agree to an individual member planting tree crops, there is almost always the assumption that he must share any profit he makes with other members of the group. Individuals who have planted cash crops under these conditions generally become discouraged when they see the fruits of their labours being reaped by kinsmen who contribute little or nothing towards production.

657 In its attempts to stimulate production of
423 cash crops by indigenes, the Administration
177 has approved a series of land tenure laws, the last and most radical of which was passed in 1964 providing for the registration by indigenes of individual freehold title to land: a measure designed eventually to establish a European system of land tenure throughout the Territory. In the meantime, such mea-
[578] sures, by pitting traditionally conservative people against the products of modern Western education, are a cause of internal conflict within indigenous society.

632 The establishment of towns, unknown be-
177 fore the coming of Europeans, has forced an even more drastic adaptation than have the

[P.3-A]

for short periods as indentured labourers on the newly-established European plantations or on the wharves of Port Moresby or Samarai. Most men sampled the novelty for a short time but quickly returned to the village; some showed little interest in the wider life introduced by the white men but a few were greatly influenced and spent years away from home in paid employment such as the Papuan Constabulary.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

The Yega constitute a social and political unit and regard themselves as separate and distinct from the similar groups around them, even though all speak mutually understandable dialects of the same language. Each of these groups may therefore be termed a parish. Before the enforced abandonment of warfare early this century, these parishes lived in a situation of constant enmity and changing military alliances. In the absence of effective natural barriers on the plain, each group concentrated upon the production of its food supplies as close as possible to its home villages; tracts of forest which served as hunting areas and as reservoirs of wild food and building materials also served as 'no man's lands' surrounding the territory of each parish group. As hunting rights to these forest areas were obtained by daring individuals who ventured far into them, near the swidden areas of neighbouring groups, it is not surprising that such

[P.5-B]

692
657
619
423
598

claims by two or more groups frequently overlapped (Fig. 2). Because of this situation,

102
131
797
423
598

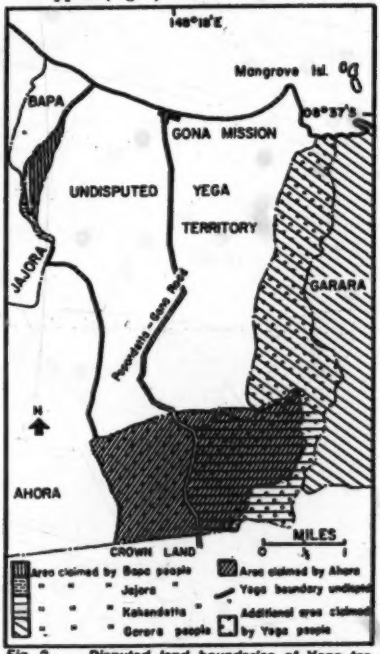


Fig. 2. Disputed land boundaries of Yega territory. (Redrawn from an original map by the Land Titles Commissioner, Popondetta.)

[P.6-A]

619
423 a Land Titles Commissioner today has the
578 difficult task of adjudicating the rival claims
692 of two or more groups to the same areas of
657 forest land; each group can, moreover, produce men who can point out the trees marked by their ancestors and each group is convinced that they alone are in the right and the others merely conniving liars, who will use any methods to steal the land. The intensity of feeling which people generate over land became evident one day when I attended a meeting called by the Land Titles Commissioner to discuss rights to a small area between the Yega and a neighbouring parish. As my Yega friends and I left at the conclusion of the meeting we came on a group of Yega men in the bush fifty yards from the meeting site; they had prepared a supply of sharpened 8 foot poles 'just in case', they said, 'the others started a fight over the land!' Doubtless the other side was similarly prepared.

614 The Yega parish is composed of eight named,
613 exogamous, localised clans most of which are
[619] divided into sub-clans and lineages; descent is patrilineal. On marriage, a girl leaves her
591 father's house and goes to live in the house
178 provided by her husband; in past times the couple invariably went to live in the same village as the husband's father, but nowadays the rules have been greatly relaxed. Each clan
614 has a different totemic emblem which serves
784 as a kind of trademark. If the totem is an animal or edible plant it may not be eaten for food.

614 An abbreviated table illustrating the Yega
613 social structure is given in Table 1.
[P.6-B]

21: Belshaw E-5 (1951) 1951 QJ23 Orokaiva QJ23
Mount Lamington

Before the eruption, a new type of village had been established in the Kokoda sub-district, consisting of a large village square of neatly clipped grass, with houses arranged in a single row along three sides of it. Although such villages have a monotonous regularity and lack of individual character, Europeans think of them as being aesthetically attractive, and they appeal to the administrative officer's sense of the fitness of uniformity in a well-ordered community. Attempts to introduce such villages in the Higaturu sub-district had largely failed, and the standard of housing was much lower. Further the people of this area tended to live in small clan-hamlets and resisted propaganda for them to come together into larger village groups. After the eruption, however, the general desire for new things, the sense of guilt at having resisted such innovations before, and a feeling of insecurity combined to make most of the people reconsider their earlier decisions. Although the move was not quite universal, by far the greater proportion of people decided to rebuild their homes in large village units situated close to existing or proposed jeep roads, and on administrative advice decided to follow the Kokoda village plan with substantially improved housing. Such a move raises numerous social problems.

The actual decision as to who should live together in a village group was by and large easy to make. Mr. Plant's enquiry, referred to earlier, showed that individual patrilineal clans are often segments of a maximal lineage, the other segments of which live in different areas, and this finding accords with Williams' material. But in a given hamlet there would be two or more clans, not segments of the same lineage; and a number of hamlets occupying neighbouring ground would be considered together as a single village-group. Sometimes the village-groups were combined as a large area-group. Thus we have the hamlets Pengipe, Isivita, Huworituru and Boeiseta combining as Isivita No. 1 village; Egaturu, Tambori, Koropata and Kiorata as Tambori village; and Kakita, Hamamuta, Pija and Popondota as Popondota village; and the village-groups of Isivita No. 1, Tambori and Popondota, together with separate hamlets of Barewaturu and Kombeturu constitute the area-group of Isivita No. 1. Just how far these groupings result from administrative practice we cannot tell, but it is fairly certain that they represent genuinely-felt units. This does not, however, necessarily apply to the combination of the area-groups into tribal groups. Though the people we are considering appear to be one in language and custom, and to regard neighbouring groups as somewhat different, they are vague as to an over-all group name. Williams calls this group the Wasida tribe; Plant considers the correct name to be Periho. Although I think Plant is more correct than Williams on this point, it seems to me that the people themselves do not attach much importance to such a name.

The village-group was taken by the people as the new unit of residence. The earlier hamlets would take a side or section of a side of the village square, each clan building its houses contiguously. This meant that the residential group increased in size from units of 20 to 100, to units of 125 to 400. Further, the village-groups were much closer together, sometimes now being in sight of each other along the

CHAPTER III: Social Environment

Section 1: Opportunity for Contact with Outsiders

The experience of the eruption led to outside contacts that would not otherwise have occurred. These outside contacts obviously were among the basic causes of social changes arising out of the eruption. In the present study, it is by no means easy to distinguish between outside contacts which arose out of the eruption, directly or indirectly, and those which existed prior to the eruption or were the result of social changes unconnected with the eruption. But before we can address ourselves to this substantive question, it must first be clear what we shall mean by "outside contacts." The term "outsiders" is used repeatedly in Professor Barnett's specification of the variables to be included in the comparative study. What, exactly, are outsiders? In order to answer this question, I have to offer a few generalizations about Orokaiva social structure for which the documentation cannot be included here. A full treatment is given in my doctoral dissertation.

We may view the Orokaiva picture of his social universe as a set of widening concentric circles: family, local clan group, village, the clan within limits of kinship recognition, the consanguineal group within limits of kinship recognition, a group of contiguous friendly villages, the wider set of persons with which an individual entertains institutionalized friendship links, while beyond these limits we may discern even wider circles which become evident in special circumstances. This is an entirely ego-centred model. I saw no evidence of groups of villages which displayed a true corporate unity. Thus village A would have close relations with villages B and C, but village B would not have similarly close bonds with A and C. More likely, villages B and C would treat each other with marked reserve and B would have close relations with A and D; C would have close relations with A and E.

Patrilineages were very shallow in genealogical depth. Though the kinship structure would need to be classified as predominantly patrilineal, I noted a strong consanguineal emphasis. Bonds based on real or fictional siblingship, affinity, matrilineality, institutionalized friendship and--above all--residence and an uninterrupted flow of reciprocal transactions were stronger than all but the closest patrilineal bonds. Though residence was predominantly patri-virilocal, there were many non-agnates in local groups sharing the same clan name; inheritance was not necessarily in the patriline.

628 position in the structure: they held, one might say, a dual citizenship: effective citizenship in Sivepa where they lived, and residual citizenship in Soroputa and Agenahambo (in the case of one of them). Other Sivepa men held a similar kind of residual citizenship in various Isivita villages, e.g., Kiorota, Bagevoturu and others again in Awala, Koropata, etc. The marks of this residual citizenship were in each case: residual land rights (e.g., hunting and fishing rights, rights to the produce of certain trees), regular visiting, clearly traceable kinship links in the [621] patri- or matriline. In inter-village contacts we may therefore distinguish two types of role: the leader and the ambassador. The leader does not directly deal with the leader of another village, except if he happens to have residual citizenship there. Trust can be established only if the approach is made by a residual citizen who, by implication, is offering tangible security (his residual citizenship rights) for the truthfulness of his words and the honesty of his intentions.

It is in the relations with places such as Soroputa and Agenahambo that we can still see the traditional pattern of inter-village relations; within the Sasembata district itself, this pattern has become slightly obscured by the development of new forms of organisation under the influence of mission and government. Nonetheless, even in the type of relations I have just discussed, the pax Australiana has had its influence. If we survey the short list of inter-village linkages between Sivepa and the more distant parts of the Waseta "tribe" (and "more distant" effectively means no more here than over four miles away), we notice that in pre-contact times, wars with Waseta and Isivita were reported. The feast offered to Togahou by Sivepa in 1967 was an unprecendented event; the persons who mediated between the two villages to arrange the feast were descendants of war captives.

628 From the viewpoint of the present study, it is interesting
● 619 to inquire whether the eruption has had any effects that drew the Waseta "tribe" more closely together. This question is complicated [731] by the conflicting descriptions we have of Orokaiva "tribes." A full discussion of the nature of Orokaiva "tribes" would be out of place here. Rimoldi (1966: 29-37) brings forward some strong arguments why a division into tribes, as attempted by Chinnery and Beaver, and Williams, is a hazardous enterprise. I have already stated my own opinion that the Orokaiva view of his social world is a set of concentric circles of increasing radius. Thus, I would agree with Williams that there is an area, comprising several dozen villages, within which an Orokaiva practices what Williams calls "intra-group morality" (1930: 311). Normally these several dozen villages are those immediately surrounding the village of [582] residence. Within this area, marriages are contracted, cannibalistic [721] raids do not occur and fights tend to involve comparatively little [266] bloodshed. The circle of "intra-group morality" varies for every

628 village. Williams, in marking out his "Waseta tribe," with Waseta
619 at the centre, excluded the Soroputa people from this "tribe"
(vide Map X), but "intra-group morality" definitely prevailed
[266] between Soroputa and neighboring Sivepe. There never were
cannibalistic raids between these two villages, which included
each other in their "intra-group morality" circle.

It so happens that the people who were brought together at Ilimo consisted preponderantly of members of what Williams called the "Waseta tribe." The only bonds existing between the members of this tribe were the individual kinship and friendship networks and the solidarity of "intra-group morality" circles. The camp was built as a set of separate villages, each under its own village constable, eating and living separately, though more
[572] closely together than formerly. I obtained from a number of Sivepe
men a list of "friends" and inquired into the occasion when the
[582] friendship started; in no case did it start at Ilimo. On the other hand, the camps led to a number of marriages between people from different villages. This tendency was especially pronounced at Hohorita, which is understandable as so many refugees had lost their families during the eruption. In Sivepe I found one case of a man who married an Agenahambo woman whom he met at Ilimo.

731 If "tribal" solidarity was dubious before the Ilimo camp
period, (the atmosphere of an evacuation camp was certainly not
628 a suitable one for developing it. Both Belshaw and Keesing
619 emphasize the anxiety of the inhabitants, their strong desire to return to their home villages, while I have also emphasized their distrust of "others" who might wish to occupy their land; these "others" would inevitably be other members of the Waseta "tribe," although perhaps the Europeans were likewise suspected of predatory aims. (For such suspicion, I do not, however, have evidence.)

A sense of district solidarity did tend to grow up after the eruption, but it can be traced to formal organisations in which Orokaiva occupied roles which brought them into contact with people from other villages. Sometimes these were élite roles, which will be considered below; sometimes they were roles open to anyone, such as that of worker in paid employment, patient in a hospital, pupil in a secondary or advanced primary school, participant in a large-scale public celebration, such as were held in Popondetta and Saiho.

657 The government is actively attempting to create among the
571 Orokaiva larger solidary units than existed in the past. We may thus explain the various attempts that are made to bring Orokaiva people together in the local government council, at numerous sports meetings and celebrations such as at Christmas and New Year, and by any other expedient means. Without the popular acceptance of the local government council the establishing of a land boundary between Sivepe and Soroputa or Agenehambo, to stay with my previous example, would have been hard to imagine. Yet it

A [See Cat. 116, p. End Map 9--Analyst]

659 was accomplished without any European power bearer making his
571 appearance and any sense of compulsion being created--the people clearly considered the boundaries advocated by the government to be in the popular interest. Yet the bonds of solidarity this being formed do not strengthen the unity of the so-called Waseta tribe but the unity of the Higaturu council area as a whole.

628 In this section I have said little about Inonda, because
619 I did not have time to clarify what "tribe" Inonda really belongs.
[114] Williams' tribal map shows Inonda as Sauaha; Crocombe and Hogbin describe Sauaha, quite correctly, as a clan resident near the settlement of Dobuduru (where the people speak a different dialect, presumably that which Williams called Dirou). Clearly, the task of establishing "tribal" units in this district would need to be done again, if it is worth doing at all, which I doubt, for reasons already given.

Section 5: Contacts With Other Orokaiva

628 Generally, contacts outside the "Waseta tribe" are sparse.
[582] During the year, only one visit was made to Sivepe, in a kinship
[574] context, by persons from another district. This was a group from Kokoda, where a Sivepe man married 40 or more years ago, and the visit was from that man's children. Several Sivepe persons quoted as an ancestor a woman from Ajoro, a village close to Inonda. It turned out that all these linkages were due to one single event, namely the capture by the Isivita people of three Ajoro women during a raid. Two of these found their way to Garombi where they
[424] married; the third woman's son came to live in Sivepe. Descendants of the Sivepe man continue to exercise each year their hunting rights at Ajoro. I could not find other references to ancestors
[572] beyond the "Waseta tribe" apart from these. Some people mentioned a friend, but rarely more than one, who came from another "tribal" district. Often these friends were found during employment, or at the mission school, or they were persons with special roles in mission or government, who had come to the Sasembata district in the course of their jobs. When women had such friends, it was more
[526] often due to a kinship link. An interesting example of the extending of such links under modern conditions occurred when a man from Sasembata village, employed in Kokoda, invited a number of fellow workers to Sasembata for a football game. These men were likewise in Kokoda for employment and came from the Aiga district.

[659] When the members of the "Waseta tribe" were accommodated at
[731] Ilimo, they were not only the guests of the government which
[574] supplied food and other comforts, but also of the people of Ilimo village who had agreed to the camp being established. From the little I could find out about relationships between hosts and

484 sophistication which is spreading to the villages. This was not
521 yet very evident in Sivepe, though I shall later quote a few
633 examples, but far more so in Hohorita.

All the Orokaiva, including the people of Sivepe, liked to make occasional visits to Popondetta, even though they had little business there. They saw relatives and exchanged news with people they met around town, especially outside the Steamship Co. shop. News filtered down about the mission, the administration, the coffee factory and various current ideologies were communicated. The Inonda men visited more frequently than the Sivepe men; the women visited less frequently than the men.

609 I had little chance to observe relationships between Orokaiva
619 and Papuans and New Guineans from outside the Northern District, except when these served in some official or mission capacity. The only exception was the workers on European-owned plantations. I observed one incident at Hohorita which seemed to me highly significant. The Sangara plantation, which is very close to Hohorita, employs many Chimbu; bad feeling between plantation workers and villagers had been built up over some time, without any specific major issue of conflict. This culminated in a fight on a major scale. The Hohorita councillor went over to the plantation to make peace; the discussion ended with an invitation to the Chimbu to come to a feast at Hohorita. This feast was a success and was followed by a return feast at the plantation. Thus the Chimbu were placed on the same footing as other groups, at one time hostile, with whom feasting relations had been established, e.g., Sivepe and Togahou. Hohorita people whom I interviewed explained to me that when they quarreled with the Chimbu, they did not really know them, but they were friends now.

Section 6: Contacts With Indigenous Office-Bearers

73 Among the victims of the eruption were 143 Papuan administration servants as well as 27 Papuan constabulary, who died at Higaturu along with the 46 European civil servants stationed there. The Mission was somewhat fortunate that Martyrs' School at Sangara was still closed for the holidays; the pupils and some of the staff had not yet returned. Even so only 11 Papuan mission teachers survived, including the present Bishop of the Northern District Diocese, George Amob, the priest at Sasembata, Fr. Albert McLaren, and the now retired mission teacher at Seva, later at Inonda, Moses Kusmale.

657 At the time of the eruption, a certain number of new roles
177 had already become firmly established among Papuans: member of the
647 Royal Papuan Constabulary, Village Constable, Mission Teacher, Medical Orderly, Clerk, Labourer. Post-war government policy aimed at greatly increasing the number and scope of these roles, both by

Section 3: Social Environment

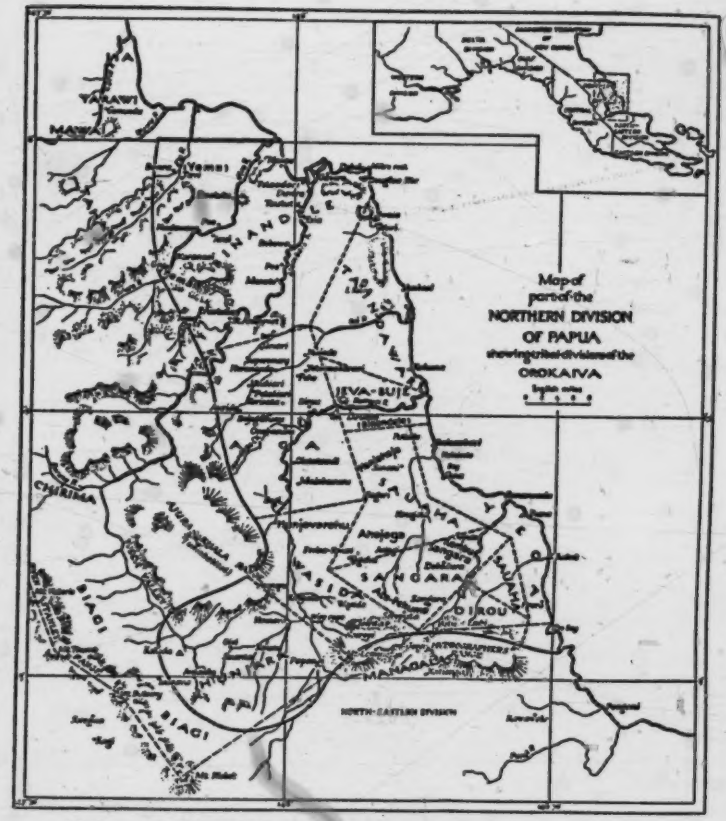
619 In discussing the Wasesta "tribe" I suggested that its boundaries would be hard to establish and that it gave little evidence of any [197] sense of unity. The case of Sangara is somewhat different; first of all, Sangara speaks a dialect of its own that is easily distinguishable from that of other areas. Secondly, a Sangara man is able, if he is knowledgeable enough, to list some 27 villages which formed a loose military alliance, and between which raids and organised ward did not [582] occur. These 27 villages formed at the same time an area within which intermarriage would regularly occur. The present population of Hoborita and the adjunct villages is drawn entirely from this alliance. (The number 27 is probably an underestimate.)

621 Since the government made Sangara the centre of the Northern District immediately after the war, patrols were active in the Sangara [657] district to amalgamate villages. A number of the people now living in Hoborita report that they came from such consolidated villages, such as Tunana, which absorbed three neighbouring villages just before the eruption. Informants say that the clusters of villages joined together in this way had always been closely related. The population of Hoborita is more diverse. I was at first told that it was composed of households of four clans (Horeopa, Oripa, Besupa and Sehopa), the first two clans being in the front village and the last two in the back village. A house-to-house census revealed representatives of a further eight clans, sometimes survivors of clans that had otherwise died out, sometimes a clan more fully represented in Kakita or Sombou while two clan names came from the Sasembata district, under circumstances to be discussed later. Furthermore, when a number of families came from the same clan, they were not always from the same village. While Sombou was inhabited by the remnants of one cluster of four villages, and Kakita by the remnants of one village, Hoborita offered a more general hospitality to all Sangara.

621 Because of their history, the four Sangara villages built since the eruption form a rather tight cluster, quite different from the 629 intersecting circle pattern I described for the Sasembata district. When a person in Sombou died, the whole of Hoborita rushes to join the wake. All four villages in the cluster do this for each other, but [731] not for any other village. Because of the sharp drop in population, and the way the survivors were thrown together after the disaster, people who were previously bound together only by a very loose alliance now behave in the same way as a small neighbourhood cluster of closely related villages.

Meanwhile, the Sangara people are rapidly developing friendships and affinal links outside the tribe. In 1966, the front half of Hoborita gave a feast for Koipa (a large Isivita resettlement village), the back half gave a feast for Asigi, Irihambo gave a feast for Hoborita while Sombou, with the assistance of Kakita, entertained the Uhuru'undi

Map X



Source: Williams 1930

[End Map 9]

24: Schwimmer E-5 (1966-1973) 1977
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

10. Compare this with the school at Sasembata, which teaches to grade six.
11. A small band of Orokaiva captured European fugitives, including male and female missionaries, and handed them over to the Japanese. The members of this band came from the area east of Mount Lamington inhabited by what Williams called the Sauaha tribe.
12. Though the Sumbiripa cycle of myths was not noted by Williams, I feel confident it existed prior to 1951, partly on evidence given in Schwimmer (1969) and partly on the evidence of a myth recorded in Belshaw (1951).
13. For sources on Orokaiva leadership, see Reay (1953) and Schwimmer (1967).
14. The term "Waseta tribe" used by Williams is perhaps unfortunate, as I demonstrated elsewhere (Schwimmer 1969:49–53). It is used here for the sake of convenience to group together the people from the Waseta area, all of whom were quartered at Ilimo evacuation camp. The name "Waseta" is not used as a tribal name by Orokaiva; it denotes no more than the village where Williams happened to do his fieldwork.
15. See also Waddell and Krinks (1968:16, fn. 3). In the final section of this chapter, I argue that the geophysical explanation is important for anthropological analysis, since it foreshadows structural change in the Orokaiva cognitive system.
16. These two oppositions are, as I understand it, singled out for detailed study in most of the chapters in this comparative volume. Unfortunately, a more detailed discussion is impossible in this chapter. Transactions between government and people during the relocation process have been described fully in Schwimmer (1969), including the massive administration intervention in the evacuation camps, the changes of location of government and mission centers after the eruption, and the gradual widening of the scope of government and mission activities. In my earlier report, I also referred in detail to the manner in which the relation between whites and Papuans is mediated by Papuan mission teachers, village constables, and other functionaries. On an ideological level the entire 'new age' rhetoric discussed in this chapter may be regarded as a form of mediation between microsystem and macrosystem.

    With regard to boundary maintenance, empirical evidence is available in my earlier report about the relations between the evacuees and the people among whom they lived. At Ilimo something akin to traditional friendly host-guest relations were established. I stress in the present essay the ambiguity of the boundary maintenance patterns. There is an ideology advocating unity and there is increasing evidence of common action, especially in the context of formal organizations set up under the influence of administration and mission, while individual webs of intertribal relationships tend to become denser as a result of migration associated with schooling, employment, and so forth. At the same time, tribalism is still the underlying principle in most transactional contexts.
17. This does not contradict my earlier statement (1969:66) that there was a brief period when the evacuees feared the government would take their land. Kaad reported to me that this fear existed, and I do not doubt it. In